FIVE CENTS

The Suffragist

WEEKLY ORGAN OF THE
CONGRESSIONAL UNION FOR WOMAN SUFFRAGE

NOVEMBER 21, 1914

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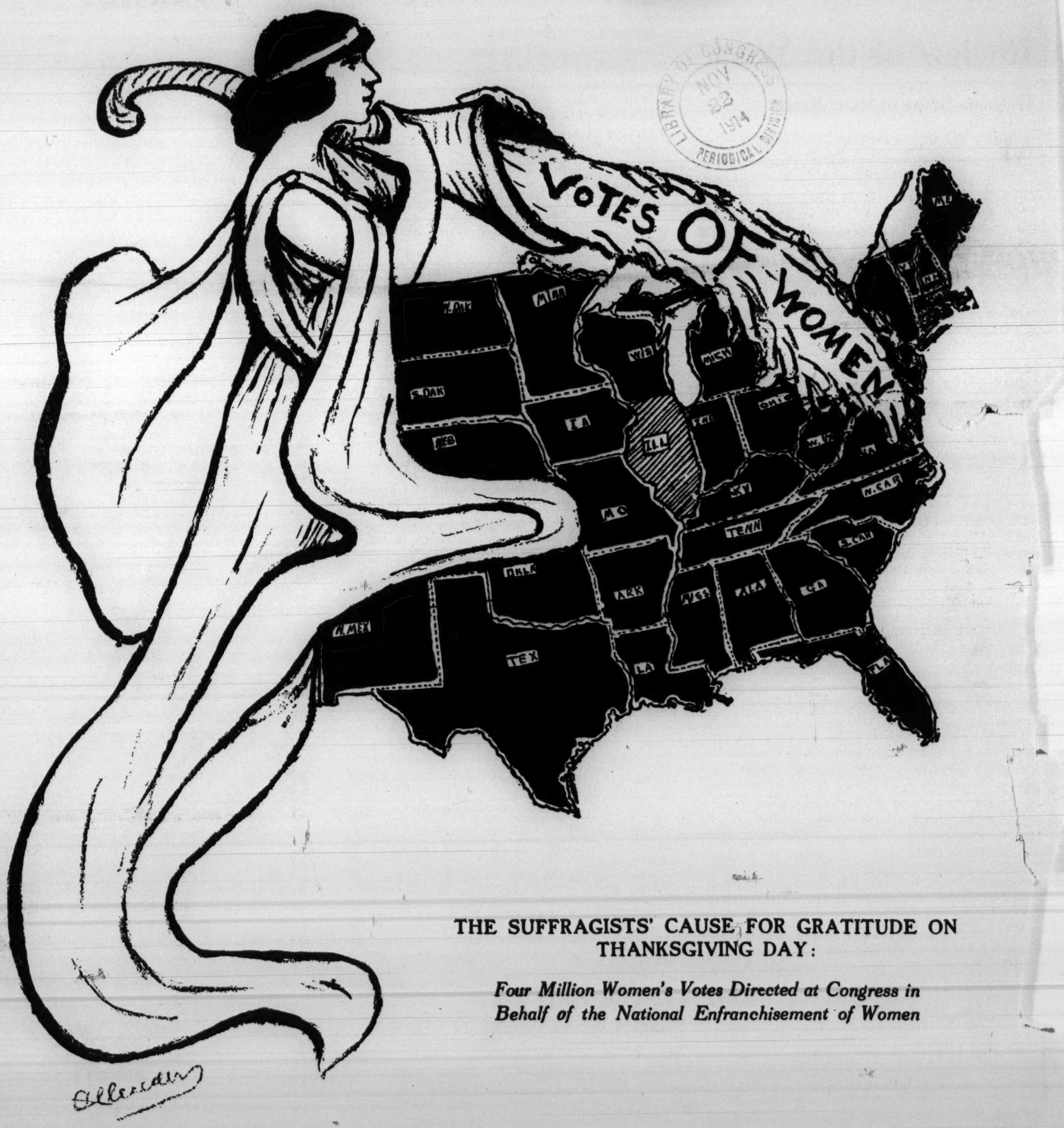

THE SUFFRAGISTS' CAUSE FOR GRATITUDE ON THANKSGIVING DAY:

Four Million Women's Votes Directed at Congress in Behalf of the National Enfranchisement of Women

Vol. II November 21, 1914 No. 47

The Suffragist

Weekly Organ of the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage

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Review of the Week

Welcome Home to Miss Vernon

MISS MABEL VERNON, the Congressional Union organizer who has been assisting in the suffrage campaign in Nevada for the past eight months, returned to Washington November 17th. Miss Vernon speaks in the highest praise of the splendid work of the Nevada women under the able leadership of their state president, Miss Anne Martin, which resulted in such an overwhelming victory for suffrage. A tea will be given in her honor at Suffrage Headquarters, 1420 F Street, at 4:30, on Sunday, November 22, to which the members and friends of the Union are invited.

Convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association

THE National American Woman Suffrage Association closed its forty-sixth annual convention at Nashville, Tennessee, Monday, November 16th. The officers elected for the coming year were: President, Dr. Anna Howard Shaw, Pa.; first vice-president, Mrs. Stanley McCormick, Mass.; second vice-president, Mrs. Desha Breckenridge, Ky.; third vice-president, Dr. Katherine B. Davis, N. Y.; recording secretary, Mrs. Susan W. Fitzgerald, Mass.; corresponding secretary, Mrs. Orten H. Clark, Michigan; treasurer, Mrs. Henry Wade Rodgers, Minn.; first auditor, Mrs. Helen Guthrie Miller, Mo.; second auditor, Mrs. Medill McCormick, Ill.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Asking Congress to take up as soon as it meets the various measures for the enfranchisement of women.

Asking Congress to enact legislation protectng the rights of Amercan women who marry aliens.

Asking Congress to protect women from State legislation denying them the right to vote for Senators, Representatives and Presidential electors.

A resolution on declaration of policy offered by Mr.. George Bass, of Chicago, was adopted by the convention. It read:

"Resolved, That the National American Woman Suffrage Association is absolutely opposed to holding any political party responsible for the opinions and acts of its individual members, or holding any individual public offical or candidate responsible for the action of his party majority on the question of woman suffrage."

A vigorous discussion took place with regard to the national suffrage amendment to be supported by the association. Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, President of the New York Woman's Political Union, made a motion that "The Shafroth Amendment be not proceeded with." Mrs. Raymond Brown, President of the New York State Suffrage Association, offered the substitute motion that "The Susan B. Anthony amendment be furthered by the National Association by every possible means and that the National Board have authority to work for such legislation as it should deem fit."

Mrs. Brown's substitute resolution was carried by a vote of 194, with 100 voting against it.

The Southern women attending the convention, among them Mary Johnston, of Virginia, spoke of the strong suffrage sentiment in the South, and urged that an effort be made to win one Southern state. It was decided by the Southern members to concentrate on Alabama as the state in which the suffrage amendment was most likely to be carried.

Before the convention adjourned Miss M. Carey Thomas, of Bryn Mawr, gave notice that at the next annual meeting she will propose an amendment to the constitution providing that the convention be held in Washington every four years coincident with the inauguration of a new administration and the convening of a new Congress.

Three Women Legislators

SINCE November 3, Mrs. Helen Ring Robinson, of Colorado, no longer holds the unique title of the only woman Senator in the United States. The progressive West has added another. The second woman to hold such an office is Mrs. Francis Munds, of Arizona. She ran ahead of the entire Democratic ticket and defeated her male opponent very decisively. Besides these two women Senators, California elected a woman to its State Assembly, Mrs. Estelle L. Lindsey, of Los Angeles. She was the candidate on the Socialist party.

This is significant from the standpoint of equal suffrage, because it shows that the men and women of the suffrage states believe so thoroughly in the efficacy of woman suffrage that they are not only willing to entrust the ballot to women but also to give them a place in the government.

More Endorsements for Suffrage

AT the twentieth annual convention of the New York State Federation of Women's Clubs which came to a close at Binghamton November 13, one of the main subjects of debate was the question of woman suffrage. In spite of the fact that Mrs. Arthur M. Dodge, President of the National Association Opposed to Woman Suffrage, led the anti-suffragists in this debate, and that every anti-suffragist who wished to speak was permitted to do so, delegates representing three hundred thousand women voted to give their support to suffrage.

Another important endorsement of suffrage came through the National Grange of Patrons of Husbandry, which is holding its annual convention at Wilmington, Delaware, November 9-21. Mr. C. B. Kegley, for ten years master of the Washington State Grange, and C. E. Spence, State Master of the Oregon Grange, in their reports, gave tribute to the influence of women in the success of advance legislation in the interests of popular government.

Mayor Mitchell and the Teacher Mother Campaign

MAYOR MITCHELL, of New York, has taken a stand on the question of employing married women as teachers in the public schools of that city. There are 18,000 women teachers in New York, 1,300 of whom are married. Recently many applications for leave of absence from married teachers who were soon to become mothers caused the Board of Education to consider a rule that such leave of absence would be considered as neglect of duty and would result in dismissal. In this connection Mayor Mitchell has addressed the significant question to the president of the Board of Education: "Would not a simple rule providing for leave of absence in this case for a suitable period put an end to all discussion *and instead of working injury to the schools, be likely to do them a great deal of good?*"

Suffrage in the Annette Islands

THE woman suffrage movement has spread not only to far away Alaska, where women are already in possession of the ballot by the act approved March 21, 1913, but will soon be in full force and effect in the islands adjacent thereto, known as the Annette Islands. These islands are set apart as a reservation for the use of the Metlakahtla Indians "and such other Alaskan natives as may join them," and are governed by rules and regulations prescribed by the Secretary of the Interior.

It is a significant fact that one of the officials drawing up recommendations for the government of these Indians, Mr. Geo. A. Ward, an Assistant Attorney for the Interior Department, and formerly of the Indian Bureau, who is probably better informed of the wants and needs of the Indians than almost any other employee of the service, should incorporate among his recommendations for the government of these islands, in accordance with his life-long belief in the principle of woman suffrage, the following:

"Apparently it is the intention of the proposed rules to allow females to hold office. If this is correct, and I see no reason why they should not hold office, it should be clearly stated that males and females who have reached the age of twenty-one years shall be eligible to any elective or appointive office, in order that there may be no confusion about the subject in the future."

If these recommendations are duly approved, the Metlahkata Indian lady will have a chance to crow over some of her white sisters in states not yet favored with the ballot.

Women and the French War Loan

ONE of the most important achievements of the French women in the present national crisis is their action in making the French war loan a success. National defense bonds, according to the Press Publishing Company, are being taken up at the rate of over $12,500,000 a week and the subscriptions have never dropped below $10,000,000. Practically all the men of the nation are under arms so that in the great majority of cases it has been the women who have taken it upon themselves to subscribe most of the funds.

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A Message from Lady Constance Lytton

LADY CONSTANCE LYTTON is loved and honored the world over for the part she has taken in the English suffrage movement. She has been imprisoned several times in connection with militant suffrage demonstrations. One of the events of her career which has attracted much attention was the difference in treatment which was accorded her when she went to prison under her own name from that given her when she was imprisoned in the disguise of a seamstress. On the first occasion she was released from gaol after a few days on the ground that she was too delicate to undergo forcible feeding and other hardships connected with the prison life of suffragists. She immediately took part in another demonstration in the disguise of a seamstress, and under the name of Jane Wharton, whereupon she was imprisoned and was forcibly fed and subjected to the treatment given to other suffrage prisoners, until her identity was discovered. She was then instantly released.

DEAR fellow-Suffragists and sisters of America: We look to you as women of the first great country that is likely to obtain the vote. We know that you will strive for it with your utmost zeal, as it is worth striving for. Here in Europe several more of the smaller countries were near to getting the woman's vote and our own stood first among the bigger nations. Now we shall have to wait. We are plunged into a war which has no parallel for magnitude. Many recent discoveries of civilization are used to render it more deadly in its power to kill and hurt men, women and children. In the preparation for war, in diplomacy, international statesmanship, home policy, as well as in the final decisions for or against war, women have no share, yet they bear, even more than men, the bitter price of it. Whether in the track of war or near it, the hideous facts of cruelty and lust show themselves in more numerous cases and with greater publicity than in times of peace. Not that war is an evil without good. There is a splendor of joy in unity of purpose, a fight for national existence, in the gaining or keeping of constitutional government. There is splendor of joy, no less, in abnegation of self, the toil and extreme hardship which are being endured for others and in gladly giving up life for an ideal.

But is war a suitable way for civilized nations to settle their needs? If so, it is a policy which women must face and decide upon as well as men. It is our special vocation, as women, to look to the future, to the race ahead of us. In war not only are thousands upon thousands of men killed, men of the fittest and in the prime of life, but to every man killed, at least double, if not treble, the number of children will die because of the war and many more be condemned to a shriveled life. From the shattering of international trade and the present economic position of women, war means to them a loss of work, of food, lodging and clothing, and a total want of care to the mothers with their young. This smites the lives of little children by thousands upon thousands.

Is this devastation of life endurable to women? Is acquiescence in it a part they willingly play in national affairs—the affairs of women as well as of men?

The women of America have fundamentally altered the laws of those states which have the women's vote, in the short time that it has been theirs, to the advantage of both men and women. We look forward to the time, and may it come quickly, when first among great countries the women of the United States, as a whole, will be enfranchised. The way to be truly sound i by giving the government of a nation t both women and men.

The Federal Amendment

By Florence Kelley

SEEN in the glare of the events of our time, by far the most vital social reform now pending is the Bristow-Mondell resolution. When this resolution receives the two-thirds vote in both Houses prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, it will go for ratification to the legislatures; and when thirty-six legislatures ratify it, all the women of the nation will become full voting citizens. Cumbersome as is this procedure it is by no means an impossible undertaking as has been shown by the recent ratification of two amendments in a single year, one authorizing Congress to establish an income tax, and one providing for the direct election of United States Senators by popular vote in the states.

Of the required thirty-six legislatures, twenty-one are probably now ready to ratify. That is certainly the position of the legislatures in the twelve states in which women now vote. Seven more legislatures are presumably ready, inasmuch as they have voted to submit to a referendum the amendments to state constitutions. These are North and South Dakota, Iowa, Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York and Massachusetts. The legislatures of Wisconsin and Michigan also within recent years referred to the voters amendments to their state constitutions, Michigan doing so twice in two consecutive years. (The governor of the state vetoed the second bill.)

Fifteen states will have to ratify the Bristow-Mondell amendment besides the twenty-one here specified. It is reasonable to suppose that these will be Nebraska, Missouri, and Ohio, whose citizens have filed initiative petitions which were followed by popular vote this November; the five New England states which border Massachusetts; Delaware, West Virginia and Maryland, which form the southern boundaries of Pennsylvania; Indiana and Kentucky, contact states of Illinois; Minnesota between Wisconsin and the Dakotas; and Oklahoma, neighboring state of Colorado.

This calculation rests upon the observed fact that the enfranchisement of women has, with the exception of Illinois, spread from one state where women vote to its next neighbor. A state, moreover, in which a campaign preceding a referendum is in process, arouses the greatest interest in its adjoining neighbors.

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Senate Resolution 130, and House Resolution 1

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress Assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following article be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which, when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE .—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Introduced:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, by Senator George E. Chamberlain, of Oregon.
In the House: April 7, 1913, by Representative Frank W. Mondell, of Wyoming.

Referred:

In the Senate: April 7, 1913, to the Woman Suffrage Committee.
In the House: April 7, 1913, to the Judiciary Committee.

Reported:

In the Senate: June 13, 1913, favorable report.

In the House: May 5, 1914. Reported without recommendation.

Discussed:

In the Senate: July 31, 1913, twenty-two Senators in favor, three opposing.
September 18, 1913, Senator Wesley L. Jones, of Washington, demanded immediate action.

On January 21, 1914, Senator Ashurst of Arizona, delivered a speech urging the passage of the Amendment.

Made unfinished business, March 2, 1914. Debated almost continuously from March 2d to March 19th.

Voted Upon:

In the Senate: March 19, thirty-five Senators in favor, thirty-four opposed, failing by eleven of the necessary two-thirds vote.

Reintroduced:

In the Senate: March 20, 1914, by Senator Bristow, of Kansas.

Reported:

In the Senate: April 7, favorable report.

Present Status:

In the Senate: On Calendar of Senate.
In the House: On Calendar of House.

CONGRESSIONAL UNION POLICY

THE past weeks have heard much discussion as to methods of suffrage endeavor. Shall we work for a national amendment, or for amendments to the state constitutions? Shall we support one suffrage measure in Congress or two measures, or several measures? Shall we ask for action on suffrage from the individual members of Congress only, or from the party which is in control of the government?

The keen interest in this discussion of methods, the difference of opinion expressed, is the surest sign of the nearness of suffrage victory. Not until success is almost attained does a movement breed vigorous discussion as to the terms on which the desired reform shall be accepted, and the method by which it shall be advocated. In the early days of the suffrage agitation the question was not "How shall we work?" but "How can we get anyone sufficiently interested to work in any way at all?" There were too few minds interested in suffrage to make it possible for any widespread disagreement to exist.

In view of this discussion, we will state once again the policy of the Congressional Union.

We have declared our allegiance to the federal amendment. We believe that the movement has reached the stage where it is no longer necessary to pursue the time-consuming and laborious work of winning suffrage state by state, but that, instead, we can now hope for the passage of a national amendment enfranchising all women of the country at once. We believe that the leverage in Congress resulting from the fact that nearly four million women are able to vote, from the fact that one-fourth of the Senate, nearly one-sixth of the House of Representatives, and nearly one-fifth of the electoral vote comes from suffrage states, makes the federal amendment now the line of least resistance. We believe it is only necessary for all Suffragists to concentrate on this amendment to secure its passage by Congress during the coming session.

We believe at the same time in concentrating on strategic points in state work. For instance, believing that Nevada was one of the advantageous points of attack, the Congressional Union maintained an organizer in that state for the eight months preceding the election. In the same way it is maintaining headquarters and an organizer in Delaware—another point where concentrated and vigorous attack ought to bring victory owing to the fact that this is the only state in the Union which does not require a referendum on the suffrage amendment after it has passed the legislature.

Granting that the time has come to take up national work, that the moment for the success of the federal amendment is at hand, there comes the further question, "How many amendments shall be supported?" We believe that to work for two or more amendments at the same time is a political mistake. It means division in the force of those who are supporting the cause, and it allows the enemies of suffrage to play one measure against the other. It seems as impossible to work for two suffrage measures as it does, for instance, to work at the same moment for a child labor bill putting the age at which children may begin work at fourteen and for another bill putting the age at twelve. To defeat a measure by introducing another of more or less the same type, thereby dividing the forces of supporters, and allowing politicians to so arrange it that some can vote for one and some for the other bill, all thereby acquiring a reputation for friendliness to the cause, while sufficient votes are not secured for either measure to insure its passage, is one of the oldest political tricks in the world. We stand, therefore, for one amendment.

The amendment for which we have always worked and are still working is the Bristow-Mondell. This resolution, when passed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states, will mean that all women in the country will be politically free. No argument seems necessary to demonstrate its superiority to the other amendment before Congress, the Shafroth amendment, which, when passed by Congress and ratified by the legislatures of three fourths of the states, merely enables the women in the thirty-seven unenfranchised states to collect thirty-seven initiative petitions on suffrage and conduct thirty-seven referendum campaigns. All states now have the referendum with the exception of Delaware, and many have the initiative. In any state where there is any likelihood of carrying the referendum, there is not much difficulty in getting the measure through the legislature. Our difficulty is not with the legislatures, but in carrying the referendum after the measure is once before the people. Surely it does not seem worth while to undergo the immense toil of carrying the Shafroth amendment through Congress and securing its ratification by the states merely to enable us to begin the process of collecting initiative petitions and waging referendum campaigns. It is to escape just this course that we are working for the national amendment.

Finally we hold responsible for the passage or the non-passage of our measure whomever is responsible. At the present time no one can deny that the responsibility is with the party which is in control of all branches of the national government. In this coming session, as in the last, the Democratic Party will control the executive office, the Senate and the House. No measure can go through Congress to which the Democratic Party offers its opposition. As long as it uses its power to block the suffrage amendment we must make it face the responsibility for such opposition.

Victorious Campaigners Welcomed Home

IN spite of one of the heaviest storms of wind and rain, which has swept over Washington this year, an enthusiastic audience gathered in the Columbia theatre on Sunday afternoon, November 15, to welcome home the Congressional Union organizers who have been campaigning in the equal suffrage states, and to listen to Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, of London, who delivered an impassioned protest against war and an appeal to the men and women of America to lead the world in the establishment of a constructive peace.

Roses and carnations were the flowers used in the decoration of the stage, above which was stretched the famous yellow banner bearing in letters of white the words "WE DEMAND THE PASSAGE OF THE BRISTOW-MONDELL AMENDMENT." Over the speaker's stand was draped the purple and gold banner of the Congressional Union, and the boxes were gay with clusters of the purple, white and gold flags of the Union. From the two upper boxes hung the banners of Montana and Nevada, both of which states have just been placed in the equal suffrage column.

Only four of the campaigners who went west to urge the women voters to withhold their support from the Democratic candidates for Congress until that party ceased blocking the passage of the proposed constitutional amendment enfranchising women, have as yet returned to Washington. Miss Lola C. Trax and Mrs. Edna S. Latimer returned from Kansas early in the week. Mrs. Helena Hill Weed, who has been in charge of the work in Idaho, and Miss Jane Pincus, who has directed the Congressional Union forces in Arizona, arrived Sunday morning with Mrs. Harriot Stanton Blatch, president of the Woman's Political Union of New York. They took their places on the stage followed by Mrs. Donald R. Hooker, of Baltimore, president of the Just Government League of Maryland, and Chairman of Finance of the Congressional Union, who escorted Mrs. Lawrence.

"We have met this afternoon to sum up our victories," declared Mrs. Hooker, in opening the meeting. "We have," she explained "recently waged a most effective war against a certain party which has been obstructing our way in the national capital." She added that the speakers would present for themselves the practical and theoretical side of the work done in the western states, and introduced Mrs. Blatch to present the "philosophy of using this political force in the west."

MRS. BLATCH'S SPEECH

"In the fight for enfranchisement carried on by men through the ages," began Mrs. Blatch, "those who were seeking the vote have always been helped by a group of men who were already enfranchised. Take for example the various enfranchisements that have taken place in America. Now I know some people think that the men always had the right to vote. That is not true. In the state of New York you had to own a certain amount of property. In Maryland, I believe you had to be an Episcopalian. In New Jersey you had to be a Presbyterian. The President of the United States could have voted in New Jersey then because he happens to be a Presbyterian but not otherwise. Men who were already enfranchised and who happened to be inside the political fold turned and helped men who were outside. When the negro came in he was helped by a great political party. The farm laborer in England came in two million strong. How did thousands of white men get the vote in England in the eighties? Did they get it by doing everything for themselves? No. They got it because men inside the Liberal Party in England began to demand that they should have it and the Liberal Party conferred the right on the farm laborer.

"Now do you know what has been the peculiarity of the woman's movement for enfranchisement? That no political party of enfranchised men has ever held out a helping hand to us. We women have had to make the fight entirely alone. Now a new day has come for us, too. At last there is a group of voting women in the West and we are going to turn to these women. We are going to make them feel that it is a religious duty to help their disfranchised sisters. We women of the East at last see a great body of voting women who are going to extend to us a helping hand, perhaps not at first, but they will in time. We are going to appeal, and appeal, and appeal again to those women until they see this as one of the biggest political duties that has ever come to any group of women. That is the philosophy that Mrs. Hooker asked me to speak about—that idea that at last we have friends, real friends, within the political fold who will turn and help us."

THE KANSAS CAMPAIGN

Mrs. Hooker then introduced Mrs. Latimer.

"The very first thing that they said to us in Kansas," said Mrs. Latimer, "was, 'Well, you are a long way from home,' and we thought so too.

"Kansas, as you know, is a very large state and is an agricultural state, and the consequence was that we had to get in touch with all the farmers and so it was necessary for us to do a great deal of travelling.

"After we had established our headquarters we interviewed the *Kansas City Star,* one of the largest papers in the state. After we had talked with the associate editor and told him what our plan was, that we intended to send a daily bulletin to the 808 papers in the State of Kansas, that we were going to every one of the large towns in the State of Kansas, and have just as many meetings as possible, and that we would distribute 50,000 pieces of literature, he looked at us and said, 'Do you realize that this will take eight men and eighteen stenographers?' I said, 'Possibly, but two women are going to do it.' And two women did do it. The result of that interview was a two and a half column editorial on the editorial page of the *Star.* It was the first time that an interview with a woman had ever appeared on the editorial page, and they told us that even Mr. Bryan had not received two and a half columns on that page. All of our bulletins were very well published after the *Kansas City Star* had taken up our cause. The women of Kansas cooperated with us, and the Progressives and Republicans invited us to speak at their big rallies. Strange as it may seem no one seemed to think that we were on the wrong track but the Democrats.

"After we had been there for a while we found that the main contest was the Senatorial fight, and so we figured out just how we could keep Mr. Neeley out of the Senate. Every one said that as Mr. Murdock was running as a Progressive, and Mr. Curtis as a Republican, it would divide the vote and give the victory to the Democratic party. We knew that Mr. Neeley had received a very large vote from his own district when he ran for Congress—over 4,000 majority. So we made up our minds that the thing to do was to reduce the vote in his own district. We thought that this would help to defeat Mr. Neeley, and it did. He received from his own district, after we had got through with a 300 mile automobile trip in three days, a majority of only 800; that is, the Democratic majority went down to 800 from 4,000. In many of the other districts his majority was still lower. Mr. Taggart, who had a 3,000 majority two years ago, went down to 300, and Miss Trax was largely responsible for that. We have letters from many of the leading politicians of Kansas saying that our work has been most effective. We have felt all through Kansas that our work was very encouraging.

"We had many interesting things happen. The second day we were out in the 7th district we held seven meetings. Six meetings had been planned, but after we reached Dodge City we found there was a political meeting in progress out on the prairie and they telephoned in and asked one of us to come out there and speak to them. If any of you have ever been in Kansas, you know they have schools everywhere, though for miles and miles you never see a house and you wonder where the children come from to go to the schools. At eleven o'clock at night we arrived at the school house where the meeting was held, and found 300 people waiting to hear a suffrage speech. After the meeting the women came up and said, 'That is just what we need. We are glad to help the Eastern women, but we do not know anything about it. We are so glad you have come to tell us these things because we did not know them.'

"The men in the West feel the same way. When I was waiting for a freight train about five o'clock in the morning, a man came up and said, 'My wife was at your meeting yesterday afternoon, and I thought I would tell you that I have voted the Democratic ticket for forty years, but I have voted it the last time.' That is the spirit of the men. Because they respect their women out there, they do not like to feel that the men in the East and the Democratic party do not consider the woman movement. People would come in and say, 'Well, you are on the right track now,' and that seems to be the spirit everywhere in Kansas."

RESULTS IN ARIZONA

Mrs. Hooker then introduced Miss Jane Pincus.

"I am sorry I cannot come to you with the air of a conquering hero," Miss Pincus said, cheerfully, "but I am sure that any person who understands the situation in Arizona will acknowledge that the purpose of our campaign was accomplished. De-

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SUITS COATS BLOUSES NOVELTIES MILLINERY GOWNS WRAPS FURS

spite the fact that the Democrats were in control—had all the money in the State and owned nearly all the newspapers—a Democratic leader came to my office one day and told me that the Democrats were absolutely sure that the women of Arizona would defeat Smith. He said the Democratic party was scared to death. It was most amusing. Every candidate who was running, even for state and county offices, felt it necessary to declare that he had always believed in woman suffrage, that his mother had believed in woman suffrage and that his grandmother believed in it. I suppose you know what action our friends Smith and Hayden took. Both of them telegraphed from Washington to the Democratic State Convention in session at Phoenix asking it to put a national suffrage plank in the platform and pledge them absolutely to support national woman suffrage. Mr. Hayden stood up on the floor of the House and filled three pages of the *Congressional Record* on his attitude on woman suffrage and Arizona was simply flooded with this copy.

"The women, we found, were very open to reason and one thing I had not expected to find was how chivalrous all the men were. I have never been so overwhelmed with courtesy and chivalry as I was out in Arizona. Every candidate from every county came into our headquarters to shake hands and say what a nice day it was and how he had always been in favor of woman suffrage. Each political party in Arizona claims absolute credit for woman suffrage out there. To me, coming from a plain campaign state, New York, it was most encouraging to find all men such good suffragists and I would like to turn all anti-suffragists into a suffrage state to let them see how women are treated at election time."

IN IDAHO

Mrs. Weed was then presented by Mrs. Hooker, and said:

"I am very glad to be able to report that no Democrat will come to the United States Senate or House of Representatives from Idaho—and the Congressional Union had a hand in it.

"We do not claim entire responsibility for the large Republican victory but we do claim the credit for turning many hundreds of votes from the Democratic party. When I reached Idaho I found the question had simmered down to the Senatorial race. The two candidates were Senator Brady, Republican, and ex-Governor Hawley, who was running on the Democratic ticket.

"I began by sending out copies of all of our literature and the current number of *The Suffragist* to every editor, club woman, minister or other person of influence. I began with a meeting which was organized by the working women in the hotel where I was stopping. I told them of our work and what it meant. Many of the women had worked in the East and they knew what conditions were among the laboring women there, and they said that they never realized that they could do anything to help the women in the East. About three days after the meeting a woman came into my office and said, 'I want to tell you, Mrs. Weed, that that meeting is going to bring out at least 200 Republican votes in my ward which are never cast, and is going to turn many more.' I positively could not fill the requests that were made to speak and explain the Congressional Unon policy. Men and women of the labor unions were much enthused over our work and we won hundreds and hundreds of votes simply because our policy was non-partisan.

"We put it straight up to Mr. Hawley that an endorsement of President Wilson's administration meant the endorsement of the administration's refusal to allow a discussion and a vote on suffrage. We put it up to him that it made no difference how good a Suffragist he personally might be, if he ran on a platform which contained, as did his, a blanket endorsement of *all* of President Wilson's policies, including his refusal to aid the suffrage movement. We pointed out to him that his personal belief in suffrage was of little avail to us if he could not or would not bring the party which he was supporting to cease its hostility to our amendment. We reminded him of the Congressmen from suffrage states who had sat in the 63d Congress and who had professed a deep interest in suffrage but who had accomplished nothing as far as actually bringing suffrage to pass was concerned, because of the continued hostility of the Democratic Party which was in control of all branches of the Government. We told him that we felt duty bound to make known to the women voters the hostile record of his national party on woman suffrage and to ask them to refuse their support to that party until it ceased blocking our amendment.

"They understood the point very quickly and saw that as far as the individual was concerned there was nothing to choose from between Mr. Hawley and Senator Brady—both were equally good Suffragists, as far as their personal stand was concerned. It was only when it came to considering their party affiliations that one could discriminate between them. We always emphasized the fact that we were not endorsing the Republican, the Progressive, the Socialist or the Prohibition Party, but were merely asking the women to refuse support to the party which had the power to give suffrage and which up to the present had used its power only to block that measure. We explained that we would have opposed any of the other parties had they possessed the power which the Democratic Party possessed and had they used that power in the same obstructive way.

"I am absolutely sure that the Congressional Union has the right policy for us to follow and that through this policy we are going to win the passage of the federal amendment."

CHARLES EDWARD RUSSELL'S SPEECH

Mr. Charles Edward Russell, the noted writer and speaker, was then introduced.

"The American women that have been endowed with the ballot," he began, "have stood the first conspicuous test of their use of that ballot and have demonstrated that they know how to use it better than the average man. The curse of American politics is the men that go annually to the ballot box when they havn't the slightest idea why they vote this way or that way. All progress comes up against the wall of the immense mass of men who vote the Republican or the Democratic tickets and can give no shadow of a reason why they do it. The women who have the ballot have served notice that when the President of the United States tells a group of working girls on Monday that he cannot take up their cause because suffrage was not included in the Democratic platform, and on Tuesday starts a movement to repeal the canal tolls in direct opposition to the platform of that party—that he can put over that kind of bunk on men but not on women.

"This election has demonstrated once again the fallacy of the assertion that woman is less capable to vote than man. Upon my word, she is better capable to vote."

THE THÉ DANSANT AT THE CAPITAL

AT Mrs. John Jay White's cozy fireside last Wednesday, final arrangements were made for the Thé Dansant to be given by the Congressional Union at Rauscher's from four to seven on November 27th. Mrs. Christian Hemmick and Mrs. White will receive the guests. Mrs. White has asked Miss Reynolds to do a Russian dance which will be the special feature of the afternoon. Miss Herriot and Mr. Morgan and Miss Faulkner and Miss Garrett will also give special dances. Much interest is being shown in the poster by Mr. Schumacher, which will be auctioned at the dance. Mr. Schumacher is probably the leader of the new school in this country and his poster has the added interest of being one of the most modern examples of art. Mrs. Barnett, wife of the Commandant of the Marine Barracks, has been the last patroness added to the list. Mrs. Dorothy Earle, chairman of the Thé Dansant Committee, would be very glad to have volunteers to distribute posters. The General Committee are furnishing delicious home-made cake, sandwiches, and tea for refreshments. Everyone is joining with the greatest enthusiasm to make the Thé Dansant another successful event in the history of the Congressional Union.

MRS. DOROTHY EARLE
Chairman The Dansant Committee

WHAT THE PRESS SAYS

IT is an interesting fact that the two candidates in the recent election who sneered most vigorously at the work of the Woman's Congressional Union are the ones who appear to have suffered most heavily. It will be remembered that the Hon. Charles S. Thomas declared, in an interview, that the Woman's Union was doing a great service for him in this state by opposing him and that he hoped that they would continue. And the Hon. H. H. Seldomridge declared that the work of Miss Doris Stevens and her colaborers was a "joke." Now, however, it appears that Mr. Seldomridge was amply defeated and Mr. Thomas may well quote the words of the psalmist: "I am escaped by the skin of my teeth."

It is not well in any campaign to minimize or belittle the efforts of one's opponents, because we never know how the balloting is going to turn. In the wide-sweeping results of the recent election, which indicate a loss of 120 members in the Democratic majority of Congress, it is an undoubted fact that the Woman's Congressional Union had a substantial part in bringing about this defection.—*Colorado Springs Telegraph*, Nov. 11.

Over Half of the People in Washington
EAT CORBY'S BREAD--WHY?

The Woman's Movement and War

Speech by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence in Washington, November 15

I WAS asked yesterday by a journalist to tell him with reference to Thanksgiving day what the American women had to be specially thankful for, and I think there are three things for which we envy you very much. First, that you have those grand Western states where the equality of men and women is recognized and where women form a part of the articulate Democracy and that you have this year added two more and can now count Montana and Nevada among them. Secondly, I who come from a country which is at war and represent a womanhood that is suffering from the effects of war, congratulate the American women, as well as the American men, on the fact that they have a government that has been strong enough to stand out against war, having held itself neutral both with regard to threatened war with Mexico and also with regard to the great conflict now going on in Europe. And there is a third thing for which I congratulate the American women, you who have so many splendid painters and writers and women of influence, that you have the unique opportunity in a time like this of influencing and moulding thought and the public opinion of the entire womanhood of the world upon this great question of peace and war. Never was there a time like today when votes for women were so much needed. Never was there a time when it was so important for women of every nation and every state to cast aside everything that hinders them and to give life and leisure and service and substance and all that they have to give to this great task of winning their enfranchisement.

For we are each of us and all of us face to face with the greatest crisis that humanity has ever passed through. We are faced with the greatest tragedy that the world has ever known. We are seeing civilization tottering to its foundation. We are seeing the passing away of a world, the passing away of an epoch, the disappearance of the 19th century in blood. And when that terrible work of destruction is over, then upon the ruins of the old world will a new world have to be built. And it is important—it is vital to the whole welfare of humanity that when that work of building begins to be done the mother-half of the human race shall be there and shall do its part in that new work of construction, so that a better and a happier and a more human world may be raised upon the ruins of that world which is passing away.

Now, women's vote not only represents a political motive, though it has its political side, and today we have been hearing interesting details about its very effective political use, but back of all this there is a deep moral and spiritual, yes, and a deep religious side. In the woman's movement of the present day you see the greatest religious movement that has arisen in the world since the beginning of Christianity. The spiritual idea back of the woman's movement is that great truth that the human body and the human soul are sacred above all material possessions or material wealth and that the great task before every generation is the evolution of the human race. Women, yes, and men, for there are many men today not only in the Western states, but all over the world, who have absorbed the woman's point of view and who care as much for this new impulse of progress as do women themselves—men and women, it is necessary, supremely necessary, that this rediscovered idea of the sacredness of human life shall be brought back into world politics and social politics when the reconstruction of the world is made again. Now, in this world you see on the one hand the world that has been destroyed and is falling to pieces and you see on the other hand a new force in the world, that has never been there before, and this is the new force of awakened womanhood. The individual soul of women which has so long been kept in silence and dejection is rising now to a race consciousness and the woman, who has always fulfilled her vocation as a mother and has cared for the children of her own family, is now becoming conscious of a race motherhood and her responsibility towards the whole human family. And this new force in the woman's movement is becoming articulate with regard to the great affairs which are going on in the world and women today must express their point of view with regard to war and add their wisdom to that of men.

You hear and read much about war, about the dissipation of commercial life, but you have not heard yet what the womanhood of the world has to say about war. My friends, we talk sometimes of the solidarity of men and of all that it has done in the 19th and 20th century. There is a much deeper thing than the solidarity of men and that is the solidarity of women. Men, you see, have many interests, many vocations, many arts, some of them clashing the one with the other. But women all the world over of every nationality, women of every class, of every race, of every standard of education, have one supreme vocation and one supreme function, and that is the creation and preservation of human beings. Deep down in the woman's heart is the denial of the necessity of war, and deep in her heart she curses that reaper of death who comes destroying the flower in blossom.

This you have never thought perhaps. The statesmen of this land—of any land—have not considered that any other plagues or pestilences or famine or national crisis that may come to pass at least takes first the old, the weak, the inefficient, and infirm. When war comes it takes first the manhood of the nation in the very blossom and flower of their youth. When that reserve is exhausted it takes the fathers and the young children until, if such a war as is going on day by day in Europe should be prolonged, it will be that all the efficient and all the strong, and all the able and all the goodly will be swept away. Among those who are left to propagate the race are the undeveloped and the inefficient. This is what has happened before in the history of the world. That is how Greece and Rome met their death. They lost their fighting men and they lowered their human stock. That is what happened after the wars of Napoleon, when all of humanity was weakened. That is what is going to happen today if this war does not come to an end; and that is the crime of war from the woman's point of view.

My friends, beneath all racial differences, all national differences, there lies that solidarity of motherhood, deep below all causes of war, deep below all passions of race, deep below all pride of empire. There are ten million mothers in Europe today who are united in their common grief, and in their common sorrow. It is the one link that survives war when every other link is gone. The link of brotherhood does not when the passion of race hatred is worked up. With the link of brotherhood goes the link of art and science and every other link one after another is snapped by the struggle of war. If it were not for this link of motherhood the human race would go back to the ferocity of the jungle. It is the solidarity of motherhood in which is rooted the solidarity of the human race.

War, you must remember, must come to an end. I will tell you why. It must come to an end even if there is no great victory in the present conflict on the one side or on the other, because, you see, war lives on peace. War is absolutely and purely self destructive. War cannot feed itself. It takes years of peace to feed it. It takes generations of peace to accumulate the resources which are now spent. It takes twenty years of peace, at least twenty years, to make a man. When the substance is eaten up, and when the life blood of European races is almost drained away, then war must stop.

Now the question of all questions is, when that time comes and when peace is made, what kind of peace is it going to be That is the question for us. That is the question which we men and women here can in our own way strive to determine. You must realize that every peace that has yet been made in the world has been the breeding soil of a new war. The peace of 1815, after the Napoleonic wars, was the cause of all the wars of the 19th century. The peace of 1870 after the Franco-Prussian war, sowed the seeds of the present war. And war with every succeeding generation gets more and more destructive.

Now is this peace going to be different from any other? That depends upon us. Is this peace going to be made by the agencies that made the war? Because, if so, then as surely as I stand here today, in another generation or two we shall have a war more world-wide and vastly more destructive. Either war must be destroyed or inevitably war is going to destroy the human race. Now there are two powers that can stand up against the war spirit, that can decide what peace is going to be made after war, and those two powers are the force of democracy and the force of public opinion. Religious wars have gone, burning of witches has gone, the practice of duelling has gone, all by the force of public opinion. Now what the woman's movement could do at the present time, what the world is looking for it to do, what the woman's movement here in America could do, is to form public opinion, and we must bring to birth the new spirit, the spirit which is the expression of that idea in the new woman's movement and this new spirit must be embodied in the conditions of the new peace.

And that is the contribution of the woman idea, this constructive peace. We have in the past closed our eyes to the horrors of war and looked only at its romantic side. Now, everything has its life side and its death side. Peace has its life side but the imagination of most people sees only the negative side. It is the business of women to create and perfect and evolve human life—humanity is our work, and into this idea of constructive peace we can bring all of the ideals that have strengthened men in war. We can bring in the idea of solidarity, of fellowship, the idea of denying ourselves personal luxuries and softness, the idea of self-immolation for a great human end. I leave you this to think about. Some day we may talk it over or you may take it and think it over for yourselves. How we can build constructive peace.

Treasurer's Report

CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARD $50,000 FUND

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS FROM NOVEMBER 2 TO NOVEMBER 9, 1914

Miss Winifred Mallon	$2.00
Miss M. P. Smith	1.00
Dr. L. Brackett Bishop	25.00
Mrs. A. E. Barry	6.00
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Equal Suffrage Association of Delaware	32.83
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Mrs. Newell	2.00
Mrs. M. C. Davis	1.00
Mrs. I. T. Hamilton	1.00
Miss Emma Arnoll	1.00
Collections	71.35
Membership fees	16.00
Sale of tickets	50.25
Total	$488.93
Previously acknowledged in *The Suffragist*.	48,649.90
Total to November 9th, 1914	$49,138.83

Advisory Council

MRS. MARY C. THERKELSEN, of Portland, Oregon, this week joined the Advisory Council of the Congressional Union. Mrs. Therkelsen is one of the most prominent women in the state of Oregon, and is a cousin of Mrs. Mary McHenry Keith, President of the California Woman Suffrage Association.

Mrs. Therkelsen writes: "I have enjoyed helping the Congressional Union campaign in Oregon, and wish to add that your selection of organizers for this particular field was a very wise one. The local committee will help your present organizer, Miss Arnold, financially and otherwise in continuing the work here. I am proud to accept the position upon the Union's Advisory Council, and I truly hope I may be of the material assistance to the Council that you may desire."

A Christmas Gift

HAVE you a friend who is not yet a suffragist, because she "really never thought about it?"

AND are you trying to decide upon a Christmas gift for her?

THEN there is at least one name you can check off your Christmas list today.

LET your gift be a year's subscription to the *Suffragist*.

SEND in your check now, and we will send you a beautiful Christmas subscription card in its own envelope ready for mailing.

YOUR friend will receive it on Christmas morning, and every week during the coming year the *Suffragist* will bring to her the news of the great and growing movement for the national enfranchisement of women, and the memory of your thoughtfulness and love.

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Angora Scarfs, in plain colors and with bands of contrasting colors at ends, finished with hand-knotted fringe. Prices are

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